calm and dispassionate reason-I ask of any man from the the occasion of the presentation of certain resolutions South to rise and tell me if it is not better for his section of the Union that Congress should remain passive, on both sides of any ideal line, than that it should interdict slavery on one Such is the Union and such are the glorious fruits which

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Mr. President, to take a very rapid glance at the course of public measures in this Union presently. I want, however, before I do that, to ask the Senate to took back upon the career which this country has run since the adoption of this constitution down to the present day. Was there ever a nation upon which the sun of heaven has shone that has exhibited by North or all the States nexth of the Potomac, in possessing the North or all the States nexth of the Potomac, in possessing the North or all the States nexth of the Potomac, in possessing the North or all the States nexth of the Potomac, in possessing the North or all the States nexth of the Potomac, in possessing the North or all the States nexth of the Potomac, in possessing the North or all the States nexth of the Potomac, in possessing the North or all the States nexth of the Potomac, in possessing the North or all the States nexth of the Potomac, in possessing the North or all the States nexth of the Potomac, in possessing the North or all the States nexth of the Potomac, in possessing the North or all the States nexth of the Potomac, in possessing the North or all the States nexth of the Potomac, in possessing the North or all the States nexth of the Potomac, in possessing the North or all the States nexth of the Potomac, in possessing the North or all the States nexth or all the States nexther all the States nexth or all the States nexth or all the States nexth or all the States nexther all the States nexther all the States nexther all the States nexth or all the States nexther al upon which the sun of heaven has shone that has exhibited so much of prosperity? At the commencement of this Government our population amounted to about four millions; it has now reached upwards of twenty millions. Our territory was limited chiefly and principally to the border upon the Atlantic ocean and that which includes the southern shores of the interior lakes of our country. Our country now extends from the northern provinces of Great Britain to the Rio Grande and the Gulf of Mexico, on one side, and from the Atlantic ocean to the Pacific on the other side—the largest extent of territory under any Gevernment that exists on the face of the earth, with only two solitary exceptions. Our tonnage, from being nothing, has risen in magnitude and amount so as to rival that of the nation who has been proudly characterized "the mistress of the ocean." We have gone through many wars—wars too with the very nation from whom we broke off free S. ates. In every instance, as far as my information ex-

to the highest station she could place him in, mainly on ac-count of his glorious military career. And of another, less fortunate in many respects than some other military command-

years of the administration of the Government Northern counsels rather prevailed; and out of them sprang the Bank of the United States, the assumption of the State debts, bounties to the fisheries, protection to our domestic manufactures. I allude to the act of £789, neutralility in the wars of of Europe, Jay's treaty, the alien and sedition laws, and war with France. I do not say, sir, that these, the leading and prominent measures which were adopted during the administrations of Washington and the elder Adams, were carried exclusively by Northern counsels—they could not have been—but mainly by the ascendency which Northern counsels had obtained in the affeirs of the nation. So, sir, of the later period—for the last fifty years. I do not mean to say that Southern counsels alone have carried the measures which I am about to enumerate. I know they could not exclusively have carried them, but I say they have been carried by their preponderating in fluence, with the co-operation, it is true—the large co-operafluence, with the co-operation, it is true—the large co-operation in some instances—of the Northern section of the
Union. And what are those measures? During that fifty
years, or nearly that period, in which Southern counsels have preponderated, the embargo and other commercial restrictions of non-intercourse and non-importation were imposed; war with Great Britain, the Bank of the United States over-thrown, protection: enlarged and extended to domestic manufactures. I sllude to the passage of the act of 1815 or 1816, from the situation in which I am placed. And would there the Bank of the United States re-established, the same bank put down, re-estab ished by Southern counsels and put down by Southern counsels, Louisiana acquired, Florida bought, Texas annexed, war with Mexico, California and other Territories acquired from Mexico by conquest and purchase, protection superseded, and free-trade established, Indians removed west of the Mississippi, and fifteen new States admitted into the Union. It is very possible, sir, that in this enumeration I large portion of the population have sympathics adverse to I may have omitted so me of the important measures which have been adopted during this later period of time—the last fifty years—but these I t elieve to be the most prominent ones. Now, sir, I do not d souce from the enumeration of the

have any just cause to repros ch the other. But, sir, I must say, in all kindness and sinc crity, that least of all ought the South to reproach the North, when we look at the long list within it by its posterity forever Like another of the sacred nation, have been adopted; when we reflect that even opposite doctrines have been from to me at time advanced by her; that the establishment of the 1 lack of the United States, which was done under the admi visitation of Mr. Madison, say to each other We have mutual faults, neither of us i met with the co-operation of the Saush-I do not say the perfect; nothing in the form of humanity is perfect; let us, whole South—I do not, when I: peak of the South or the then, be kind to each other—forbearing, forgiving each other's North, speak of the entire South or the entire North: I speak of the prominent and larger proportio nof Southern and North—Mr. President, I have said, what I solemnly believe, that of the prominent and larger proportio unof Southern and Northern Mr. President, I have said, what I solemnly believe, the ern men. It was during Mr. Madis on's administration that ern men. It was during Mr. Madis on's administration that the Bank of the United States was e washished. My friend, whose sickness—which I very much deplore—prevents us from having his attendance upon this occasion, (Mr. Calmoux.) was the chairman of the commute, and carried the measure through Congress. I voted for it with all my heart. Although I had been instrumental with other Southern votes in putting down the Bank of the Unite 1 Sistes, I changed with such violence, or be characterized with such bloodshed my opinion and co-operated in the establis besent of the bank and enormities as would the war which must succeed, if the of 1816. The same bank was again put lows by Southern event ever happens, the dissolution of the Union. And what counsels, with Gen. Jackson at their head, at a later period. would be its termination? Standing armies and navies, to an Again, with respect to the policy of protection. The South in 1815—I mean the prominent Southern m. m, the lamented Lowndes, Mr. Calhoun, and others—united in a utending a certain measure of protection to domestic manust returns as well as the North. We find a few years afterwar de the South ensue, until, after the struggles and exhaustion of both parinterposing most serious objections to this pol. ey, and one member of the South threatening on that eccasio a dissolu- would arise and cut the Gordian knot, and solve the proble tion of the Union or separation. Now, sir, let us : ske another the capacity of man for self-government, and crush the liberties of both the severed portions of this common empire. Can you are brought forward not in a spirit of reproach but c foonciliation—not to provoke or exasperate, but to quiet, to produce Look at all history—consult her pages, ancient or modern—harmony and repose, if possible. What have been be terrilook at human nature; look at the character of the contest in torial acquisitions made by this country, and to what in tesests which you would be engaged in the supposition of war following upon the disolution of the Union, such as I have sugintroduced; Louisaina, or all the most valuable part of that
State—for although there is a large extent of territory north
of the line 36° 30', in point of intrin-ic value and importance
I would not give the single State of Louisiana for the whole of

extinction of this last and glorious light which is leading all I would not give the single State of Louisiana for the whole of it—all Louisiana I say, with the exception of that which lies morth of 366 30', including Oregon, to which we ob tained title mainly on the ground of its being a part of the acquisition of Louisiana; all Texas, all the territoies which have been acquired by the Government of the United States during its sixty years' operation have been slave territories, the theatre of sixty. very, with the exception that I have mentioned of that I ving sult would be if that directly event to which I have referred north of the line 36° 30'.

hers of the Confederacy. And now, sir, for the first time after ever take it shall return in safety. it to he hearts of my countrymen of the South, if it is heart-rending speciacle. right to press muters to the disastrous consequences which. On motion, the Senate adjourned. have been indicated no longer ago than this very morning on

of any ideal line, than that it should interdict slavery on one side of the line and be passive in regard to it on the other side of the line?

Sir, I am taxing both the physical and intellectual powers which a kind Providence has bestowed upon me too much—too much by far—though I beg to be permitted, if the Senate will have patience with me, to conclude what I have to say, for I do not desire to trespass another day upon your time and patience, as I am approaching though I have not yet nearly arrived at the conclusion.

Sir, this Union is threatened with subversion. I want, if my opinion they ought to be, to their masters. These I Sir, this Union is threatened with subversion. I want, in my opinion they ought to be, to their masters. These I believe would be the causes, if there be any causes which can belie measures in this Union presently. I want, however, strict the mistress of the ocean." We have gone through many wars—wars too with the very nation from whom we broke off in 1776, as weak and feeble colonies, and asserted our independence as a member of the family of nations. And, sir, we came out of that struggle, unequal as it was—armed as she was at all points, in consequence of just having come out of her long struggles with other European nations, and unarmed as we were at all points, in consequence of the habits and nature of our country and its institutions—we came, I say, out of that war without any loss of honor whatever—we emerged from it gloriously.

In every Instance, as far as my information extends, in which an appeal has been made to the courts of justice to recover penalties from those who have assisted in decoying slaves from their masters—in every instance, as far as I have heard, the court has asserted the rights of the owner, and the jury has promptly returned an adequate verdict on his behalf. Well, sir, there is then some remedy whilst you are a part of the Union for the recovery of your slaves, and some indemnification for their loss. What would you have if the Union was severed? Why, then, the severed parts would be independent of each other—foreign countries—and slaves escaping from one to the other would be like slaves escaping from the United States to Canada. There would be no right to appeal to the courts of justice to indemnify you for the loss of your slaves. Where one slave escapes now by of our armies, the glory of our armies have triumphs, there is no page or pages of history which records more brilliant successes. With respect to one commander of en important portion of our where you run the line, or whether independent sovereignties army I goed say nothing here; no praise is necessary in behalf of one who has been elevated by the voice of his country to the highest station she could place him in, mainly on accountry to the highest station she could place him in, mainly on accountry to the highest station she could place him in

solution of the Union, be safer with your slaves within the separated portions of the States than you are now? Mr. President, that they will escape much more frequently from the border States no one will deny.

And, sir, I must take occasion here to say that, in my mirror, there is an input of any one or more of fortunate in many respects than some other military commanders, I must take the opportunity of saying, that for skill, for science, for strategy, for ability and daring fighting, for chivalry of individuals and of masses, that portion of the American army which was conducted by the gallant Scott as the chief commander, stands unrivalled either by the deeds of Cortez himself, or by those of any other commander in ancient or modern times.

Sir, our prosperity is unbounded; nay, Mr. President, I sometimes fear that it is in the wantonness of that prosperity that many of the threatening ills of the moment have arisen. Wild and erratic schemes have sprung up throughout the whole country, some of which have even found their way into legislative halls; and there is a restlessness existing among us which I fear will require the chastisement of Heaven to bring us back to a sense of the immeasurable benefits and blessings which have been bestowed upon us by Providence. At this moment—with the exception of here and there a particular is prosperity and peace, and the nation is rich and powerful. Our country has grown to a magnitude, to a power and great—our properties of the country—all is prosperity and peace, and the nation is rich and powerful. Our country has grown to a magnitude, to a power and great—our properties and the properties of the river, should that be the line of separation. They would pursue their slaves into the adjacent free States; they

our country has grown to a magnitude, to a power and greatness, such as to command the respect, if it does not awe the apprehensions of the Powersof the earth with whom we come in contact.

Sir, do I depict with colors too lively the prosperity which has resulted to us from the operations of this Union? Have I exaggerated in any particular her power, her prosperity or her greatness? And now, sir, let me go a little into detail with respect to eway in the councils of the nation, whether from the North or the South, during the sixty years of unparalleled prosperity that we have enjoyed. During the first twelve years of the administration of the Government Northern counsels rather prevailed; and out of them sprang the Bank of the

Union. I am for vindicating those rights, not by bein driven out of the Union natshly and unceremoniously by an portion of this confederacy. Here I am within it, and here not be more safety in fighting within the Union than out of it? Suppose our rights to be violated, suppose wrong to be done you, aggressions to be perpetrated upon you, can you not better vindicate them—if you have occasion to resort to the last without ceremony and without authority.

Sir, I have said that I thought there was no right on the

measures adopted by the twe side or the other, any just cause part of one or more States to secede from the Union. I think of reproach either upon twe side or the other; though one so. The constitution of the United States was made not side or the other has pre dominated in the two periods to which I have referred. These measures were, to say the least, the joint work of bo. In parties, and neither of them State that then came into the Union, and every State that has since come into the Union, came into it binding itself by indisso luble bands to remain within the Union itself, and to remain which, under her sway in the counsels of the connexions in private life, it is a marriage which no human

Look at all history—consult her pages, ancient or modern-And here, in the case of a war made essentially by the whether from the South or the North, by all that they hold South-growing out of the annexation of Texas, which was dear in this world-by all their love of liberty-by all their a measure proposed by the South in the councils of the co. in veneration for their ancestors—by all their regard for posterity try, and which led to the war with Mexico—I do not say all their gratitude to Him who has bestowed on them of the South, but the major portion of the South pressed the such unnumbered and countless blessings-by all the duties ancexation of Texas upon the country-that measure, as I which they owe to mankind-and by all the duties which have said, led to the war with Mexico, and the war with they owe to themselves, to pause, solemnly to pause at the Mexico led to the acquisition of those territories which now edg e of the precipite, b fore the fearful and dangerous lesp is constitute the bone of contention between the different mem- taken into the yawning abyss below, from which none who

the three great acquisi ions of Texas, Florida, and Louisiana Finally. Mr. President, and in conclusion, I implore, as the nave been made and have redounded to the benefit of the best blessing which Heaven can bestow upon me upon earth, South—now, for the first time, when three territories are at that if the dire ful and sadevent of the dissolution of this Union tempted to be in roduced without the institutions of slavery, is to happen, that I shall not survive to behold the gad and

WASHINGTON.

"Liberty and Union, now and forever, one and

SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 9, 1850.

FURTHER EXPOSITION OF THE EVIL OF THE DAY, AND ITS TENDENCY.

In the article which we addressed to our readers few days ago, upon the distracting topic of the times, we invited their attention to unmistakeable evidence of the existence of a very serious disaffection towards the General Government among the People in certain of the Southern States. This disaffection we showed to be founded on alleged aggressions by the People of the North, by their State Governments, and by their Representatives in Congress, upon the rights of the People of the South, which aggressions are represented by the latter to have grown to such a height as to be no longer endurable, and to require a resort by the South to extra-constitutional ways of redress. To ascertain more definitely what those "aggressions" are which are thus denounced, we have resorted to the source from which the propositions for a Southern Convention seem to have sprung, viz. the Ad-

That Address, now before us, opens with a fornality denoting depth of purpose, as well as of eeling, on the part of its distinguished authors :

"We, whose names are hereunto annexed," say they, address you in discharge of what we believe to be a solemn duty, on the most important subject ever presented for your consideration. We allude to the conflict between the two great sections of the Union, growing out of a difference of feeling and opinion in reference to the relation existing between the two races, the European and African, which inhabit the Southern section, and the acts of aggression and encroachment to which it has led.

"The conflict commenced not long after the acknowledgment of our independence, and has gradually increased until it has arrayed the great body of the North against the South on this most vital subject. In the progress of this be pardoned for giving utterance to. conflict, aggression has followed aggression, and encroacha regard for your peace and safety will not permit us to remain longer silent. The object of this address is to give you a clear, correct, but brief account of the whole series of aggressions and encroachments on your rights, with a statement of the dangers to which they expose you."

The "Address" goes on to state that the differnce of opinion and feeling on this subject, " not to o further back," disclosed itself in the Convenion that formed the Constitution, and constituted one of the greatest difficulties in framing it. The obstacles were, however, overcome by a compromise-the Constitution as it stands-so satisfactory, says the Address, in regard to the subject in uestion, as to have been nearly unanimously adoped. "With few exceptions," continues the Address, "the South had no reason to complain prior to the year 1819 "-that is to say, not for a period of thirty years-until the beginning of the debate on the question of the admission of Missouri into the

The main counts of the aggressions by the North, which the "Address" recites, are couched in the

their slaves, now meet, instead of aid and co-operation, refinally, when all those fail, from mobs, composed of whites and blacks, which, by threats or force, rescue the fugitive slave from the possession of his rightful owner."

"But," continues the address, "a provision of the constitution may be violated indirectly as well as directly, by doing an act in its nature inconsistent with that which is enjoined to be done. Of this form of violation there is a striking instance connected with the provision under consideration. We allude to secret combinations which are believed to exist in many of the Northern States, whose object is to entice, decoy, entrap, inveigle, and seduce slaves to escape from their owners, and to pass them secretly and rapidly, by means organized for the purpose, into Canada, where they will be beyond the reach of the provision."

"And yet, as repugnant as these combinations are to the shove exception, not one of the States within whose limits they exist has adopted any measure to suppress them, or to punish those by whose agency the object for which they were formed is carried into execution. On the contrary, they have looked on and witnessed with indifference, if not with secret approbation, a great number of slaves enticed ery, to the great annoyance and heavy pecuniary loss of the tion of it. bordering Southern States."

"There remains to be noticed another class of aggressive acts of a kindred character, but which, instead of striking at an express and specific provision of the constitution, aims directly at destroying the relation between the two races at the aided the re-capture of fugitive slaves. Are they South, by means subversive in their tendency of one of the censurable for this? In the case of Prigg vs. Pennends for which the constitution was established. We refer to sylvania, in the Supreme Court of the United States, the systematic agitation of the question by the Abolitionists; which, commencing about 1835, is still continued in all possible forms. Their avowed intention is to bring about a state of things that will force emancipation on the South," &c. The Address then passes on to a history of the

Missouri controversy, which also is included

among the grievances of the South; and, next, to

the war with Mexico, which is represented by the author of the Address to have had the effect to widen the difference between the two sections." meaning the North and the South, " and to give a more determined and hostile character to their conflict." The Address then goes on to state, as one of the consequences of that war, the apprehended exclusion by Congress of Slavery from California, &c .in "aggression" in prospect, which, like the next aggression" recited, the design to abolish Slavery in the District of Columbia, there is no present probability of being realized. For, on the principle conended for by the South itself, Congress can constitutionally impose no other condition upon the admission of any State into the Union than that its

Constitution shall be Republican, and of course cannot require that a State, coming into the Union, shall create slavery where it does not at present exist within its limits, and where its Constitution peremptorily renounces and interdicts it forever. "Little, in truth, [says the Address, in summing up its catalogue of 'aggressions,'] would be left to be done after we have been excluded from all the Territories, including those to be hereafter acquired; after slavery is abolished in this District and in the numerous places dispersed all over the South, where Congress has the exclusive right of legis-

lation, and after the other measures proposed are consum.

mated. Every outpost and barrier would be carried, and

nothing would be left but to finish the work of abolition at

hould be some positive enactments to prevent it. Under such state of things, the probability is that emancipation would be follow with the control of the co follow, without any final act to abolish slavery."

After stating everal hypotheses and suppositions upon which the entire emancipation of the slave population of the South might come to be brought about, without the consent of the States in which it exists, and portraying, in language not too strong, the frightful horrors of the reality of such a dream, the Address concludes its gloomy vaticinations, and its array of alleged probabilities that are mostly impossible, with the following paragraphs:

"As the assailed, you would stand justified by all laws human and divine, in repelling a blow so dangerous without looking to consequences, and to resort to all means necessary for that purpose. Your assailants, and not you, would be responsible for consequences.

"Entertaining these opinions, we carnestly entreat you to be united, and for that purpose adopt all necessary mea-sures. Beyond this we think it would not be proper to go

"We hope, if you should unite with any thing like unan mity, it may of itself apply a remedy to this deep-seated and dangerous disease; but, if such should not be the case, the time will then have come for you to decide what course to

[This Address, we have heretofore stated, was dopted by nothing like a unanimous vote. There were present, at the earlier meetings of the Southern dress of Southern Senators and Representatives to their Constituents, as we find it published in the Union" newspaper of January 28, 1849.

Senators and Representatives will whom this dress originated, as many as eighty-eight gentlemen. On the question of the adoption of the Address, the vote stood, year 42, nays 17; so that, reckoning Senators and Representatives with whom this Adthose who did not vote upon the question as opposed or indifferent to the issuing of this Address, it received less than a majority of the votes of those who were present during the intermediate stages of its existence. It is but fair to state, however, that the opposition to the adoption of the Address can hardly be considered as evidence of hostility to its rights of the South, in this respect, which are principles, but rather to the time, manner, and place guarantied by the Constitution; and the Judicial of the movement, and perhaps to its supposed ulte-

> Though we have produced the preceding summary of the Address with no intention of reviewing Judges, that the law of Congress imposed a duty have already been told by its "Address," before it, but solely for the purpose of possessing our readers of its leading points, some reflections have labor on claim being made, no plausible ground of tain to continue, with more fatal results, when, if occurred to us, whilst perusing it, which we shall

The first thing which struck us, as it must do ment encroachment, until they have reached a point when every reader whose attention is called to it, is the acknowledgment with which it sets out, that the conflict-the character of which it is the object of the Address to represent to the People of the South as not only progressive but aggressive to an alarming extent-this "conflict," the theme of the Address, has not grown out of the Constitution of the United States, but out of natural causes, which have been in operation since the Creation. The "conflict" began before the Constitution was formed; the Constitution is, therefore, by confession of the complainants, released from any responsibility for The "conflict" would have equally existed

> The second thing worthy of remark is, that, in this grave recital of grievances of the South, for which the remedy of a Southern Confederacy is by other of the presses and agitators in the answer that the result of that compromise rather enlarged the "rights of the South" (by extending them over acquired territory) than constrained them within narrower bounds. Were it otherwise, however, and could the Missouri compromise be tortured into an "aggression by the General Govof acquiescence, be justly considered as barred by the statute of limitations.

The "aggressions" charged against the Governments and People of the Northern States, however, are not merely ideal. These aggressions naturally divide themselves into two classes-the true intent of the provision, it is believed that, with the first, Legislative and Administrative; the second, individual, sentimental, and moral.

The first of these classes, having something substantial and tangible in it, and in which the South really has cause of complaint against the Norththough by no means to the extent to which it is from their owners and placed beyond the possibility of recov- averred—we devote a brief space to the examina-

What have the Free States done, of which the Southern States complain?

They have repealed, it is said, all their laws which Judge Story, who delivered the Opinion of a majority of the Judges, which was of course the decision of the Court, said :

"The remaining question is, whether the power of legislation upon this subject is exclusive in the National Government, or concurrent in the States until it is exercised by Congress. In our opinion nature of the provision, and the objects to be attained by it, require that it should be controlled by one and the same will, and act uniformly by the same system of regulations throughout the Union. If, then, the States have a right, in the absence of legislation by Congress, to act upon the subject, each State is at liberty to prescribe just such regulations as suit its own policy, local convenience, and local feelings. The legislation of one State may not only be different from, but utterly repugnant to and incompatible with that of another," &c. "One State may make a statute nals, short and summary," &c.

The Court, in this their opinion, further say, that State may, in the exercise of its police powers, send out of the State "idlers, vagabonds, and paumaster." &c.

Chief Justice Taney thought the States had power to legislate in aid of the right of the master. vested in the Federal Government; but he said :

"It seems to be taken as a conceded point in the argument that Congress had no power to impose duties on State officers, as provided in the above act. As a general principle, this is true; but does pleasure in the States themselves. This District, and all places over which Congress has exclusive power of legisla- ' not the case under consideration form an exception, would be asylums for fugitive slaves, where, as soon tion? Congress can no more regulate the juris. with the criminal intent of disturbing the peace of every aspect of the case, that the North is guiltless 'as they placed their feet, they would become, according to diction of the State tribunals than a State can de- the South and "exciting discentent among their of the Annexation of Texas, and its consequent vast

commissioned. But do not the clauses in the Constitution, in regard to fugitives from labor and from justice, give Congress a power over State
Officers on these subjects? The power in both
the cases is admitted or proved to be exclusively in the Federal Government.'

"In the first section of the act of 1793, Congress have provided that, on demand being made as above," "it shall be the duty of the Executive authority to cause the person demanded to be arrested," &c. The constitutionality of this law, uniformly acknowledged its obligations," Now, if Congress may by legislation require this duty to be performed by the highest State officer, may they not on the same principle require appropriate duties in regard to the surrender of gitives from labor by other State officers? Over these subjects the constitutional power is the same." &c. "I am therefore brought to the conclusion that, although as a general principle Congress cannot impose duties en State officers, yet, tice, they have the power to do so."

From the above extracts it is seen that the States fugitive slaves, and that, if such a power were exercised, it could be neither uniform nor salutary. The States, therefore, which have repealed all their laws on this subject, have only followed out the decision of the Supreme Court in the case of Prigg. Those States alone are blameable, and they are blameable, which have imposed penalties on their own officers for acting under the law of Congress. Very few of the States have done this: but, wherever it has been done, it shows a hostility to tribunal in the last resort will not fail so to pronounce. If, by the way, the Supreme Court had the South.

The words of the Constitution on this subject are as follows :

" A person charged in any State with treason, felony, of other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the Executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime."

"No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due."

The act of Congress of 1793 requires the Governor or Chief Magistrate of the State or Territory to which a fugitive from justice shall have fled, on had the States remained Provinces of Great Britain, demand being made, to cause him to be arrested or had the Western World never been peopled from and delivered up. And, when a fugitive from labor is seized and brought before "any magistrate of a county, city, or town corporate, wherein such seizure or arrest shall be made, and upon proof to the satisfaction of such judge or magistrate' proposed by some, and a Dissolution of the Union that the person seized owes labor, &c. he shall give a certificate of the fact, which shall authorize Southern States, no complaint is made of any in- the removal of the fugitive to the place from jury actually done to the South by the authority of whence he fled. Without any pretension to legal their duty to exercise it.

This very subject, however, is now actually ernment," it must, after an interval of thirty years the reclamation of fugitive slaves, it may be hoped law provide adequate powers to carry fully into ted States on this subject. That being done, nothing will remain, on this score, for the Southern States to complain of.

press; and it would be the sublimity of folly for a 'perity of those States in which it exists." same opinion. Justice McLean agreed with a majority of the Judges that the power was exclusively liar position in which they find themselves, and in ment in money for the damage she might consider

the doctrines of our Northern assailants, free, unless there | fine the judicial power of the Union. The offi- | slaves," the Southern States have the same right cers of each Government are responsible only to protect themselves by punishing such offenders the respective authorities under which they are within their berders, as the People of other parts of the country, happily otherwise situated, have to protect themselves by penal laws against burglars and highwaymen. But the South would only make itself ridiculous by getting up a Convention for suppressing "the Northern societies and newspapers, debating clubs and lecturers, pamphlets and other publications," to which the "Address" alludes as expressing, in the neighborhoods to which they belong, opinions obnoxious to the Institution of Slait is believed, has never been questioned. It has very. Better, far better, to take the advice and act been obeyed by Governors of States, who have upon the principle of that worthy Member of Congress, who, in his place in the Senate, a few days ago, expressed himself on this head sensibly and acutely as follows:

"Why, sir, these persons are not satisfied with correcting the institutions of the South; they are determined to correct the institutions of the North also. Things at the North are off-nsive; the very organization of society is offensive; the church of God is offensive; and if these gentlemen could ' succeed and have their way, we should have, in the fullness in the cases of fugitives from labor and from jus-tice, they have the power to do so."

4 of time, the perfection of the "progress of the age." But what is to be done with these persons? What can you do with them? Sir, it will not do to pass sedition laws. That have no power to legislate on the reclamation of 'experiment has been once tried : it is not likely to be repeat-'ed soon. What, then, can you do with them ? Why, sir, flet them philosophize; let them shed the light of their pecu-'liar philosophy the world over, and let the world, in its 'good sense, judge of it and dispose of it. We cannot stop it,
'Mr. President; it would be idle for us to attempt to suppress fall the nonsense we have at home, and it would be equally idle to attempt to suppress a great deal of the nonsense that we find abroad. Legislate to cure their wretched theories! Legislate to give men brains enough to understand the folly of it! Why, sir, it is not in the power of human legisla-tion to cure this folly. Nothing short of a creative power can relieve us from the extraordinary mental obliquity by " which they are affected."

The South, moreover, really wounded and naturally excited by some of these things, has no reason, on this account, to turn its anger against the concurred in the opinion above cited of one of its Union. The same state of things existed, as we upon State Officers to deliver up fugitives from the Constitution came into being; and will be cercomplaint on this subject would have been left to ever, the shield of that Constitution be withdrawn which now protects the rights of the Slaveholding

States beyond their limits. With regard to the War with Mexico, preceded by the Annexation of Texas, and terminating with the Acquisition of New Mexico and California, the effects of which are so strongly stated in the "Address," it is due to the North to say that neither that War, nor that "Annexation" which induced it, nor the acquisition of New Mexico and California which followed it, can be reckoned among the "aggressions" of the North upon the South. Whatever title any public measure adopted by the constituted authorities of a country may have to be classed as an "aggression" of one division of the country upon another, the annexation of Texas certainly had to be regarded as an "aggression" of the South upon the North, rather than of the North upon the South. That "annexation" was projected by a Southern President. The project was not attempted to be put in execution so long as a Northern Statesman presided over the Department of State, nor, after his retirement, whilst that enlightened patriot HUGH S. LEGARE (his successor in the Department) lived. But, within a the Government of the United States. On that acumen, it appears to us that State officers are as foot, an eminent Virginian being called, by a Virhead we have indeed doubts, suspicions, apprehenmuch bound to deliver up fugitives from tabor as ginia President, to succeed him, apparently for the sistence in every form; resistance from hostile ads of purpose of bringing about that event. There being sistance in every form; resistance from nostice and of purpose of bringing about that event. There being the United States, in the case of Prigg, did say that associated with him also in the Cabinet another sorts of devices, and by interposing every description of on no rights of the South. If the Missouri com-Congress, if not prohibited by the State; but it is of the Cabinet, besides the President himself, all to be regretted that the Court did not say it was deeply in the Southern interest. By an Administration thus constituted, a negotiation with Texas was opened, and assiduously prosecuted until the before Congress; and, it having been decided, melancholy catastrophe of the explosion on board by the Supreme Court of the United States, that of the steamship Princeton, which struck down at the States have not the power to legislate on once two Members of the Administration—the Secretary of State and the Secretary of the Navy: that, before the session closes, Congress will by when the Hon. Mr. Calhoun, of South Carolina, was called, with general approbation, to the head of effect the provision of the Constitution of the Uni- the Department of State, and the Hon. John Y. Mason, of Virginia, was installed in the vacant Department of the Navy, by which the predominance of the Southern interest in the Cabinet was retained, five The argument of danger to the South, inferred to seven of the whole Administration being Southern by the "Address" from the difference of opinion men, and two only Northern. What share Mr. between the People of the North and of the South | CALHOUN himself had in the negotiation with Texas, on the subject of the Institution of Slavery, can and in the formation of the Treaty of Annexationalarm none but very sensitive or very timid minds. what zeal he brought in aid of that object, and by The same difference of sentiment has existed, ac- what arguments he advocated the annexation in the cording to the Address itself, from the formation European correspondence of his Department, as of the Constitution-aye, from the time when (in well as at home, is now matter of history. From the language of the old Primer) "in Adam's fall we the State Papers of that day, we might cite passinned all." Our readers have seen, in our former sages to show that the protection and extension of number on this subject, how that opposition of the slave power in this Government were the objects sentiment manifested itself in the First Congress of of the Administration, and especially of the leading the United States, quite as expressively, as angrily member of the Cabinet, in pushing the annexation and obstinately, as it does at the present day. But of Texas with such inordinate eagerness. Few this difference of opinion at that day elicited no of our readers have forgotten, we presume, the letappeals to the People of the South to right their ter of Mr. Secretary Calhoun to Mr. PAKENHAM. wrongs by any unlawful and violent procedure, much at that time recently arrived here, in the capacity less by a resort to arms, or to a dissolution of the of Minister from Great Britain to the United States, Union! No, truly; the men of that day knew in which, without availing himself of the conthe value of the Union. As the Address of the ventional reserve of diplomacy, he (Mr. Calhoun) it is exclusive," &c. "In the next place, the Southern members of Congress tells us, they had entered into a demonstration, by statistics drawn from great difficulty in establishing a Government for the census of deaf and dumb, blind, idiots, and inthe United States, and they were too happy in same of the African race in the United States, to prove having got into the Union to be in any haste to how much more favorable slavery is than freedom. break out of it. Experience in our own Gov- to the colored race, concluding by the affirmation ernment has shown the futility of all attempts to that " what is called slavery is in reality a political restrain by law the freedom of speech and of the 'institution, essential to the peace, safety, and pros-Government to undertake to control opinion by proposition it is not our design here to controvert. statutory enactments. Nor can the freedom of Our object in referring to it is to direct the attenthinking, speaking, and printing be frowned down, tion of the reader to the fact that there was no conof limitations as to the remedy, in its own tribu- any more than it can be lawed down. The people cealment on the part of the then Administration-alof this country are in some respects a wilful peo- together Southern in its composition—that its ple: the more you attempt to abridge their freedom object in obtaining possession of Texas was to add of opinion, the more free it is certain to become. to the slave territory of the United States, and to pers," but that the rights of the owners of fugitive Neither the South nor the North can force the advance and uphold the peculiar interests of the slaves are in no just sense interfered with or regulated by such a course, although it may aid the divisions to stop thinking, or speaking, or printing made this open proclamation of the purpose and their thoughts and their speeches. We agree with objects of the annexation of Texas, had too much disthe authors of the Southern Address, that it is both cernment not to perceive that a war with Mexico lay unkind and ungenerous in the Abolitionists, or any behind that annexation. To do him willing jusand Justices Thompson and Daniel were of the other party, in the North or elsewhere, to be conwhich the People of the North had more agency in herself to have received from this act on the part placing them, or rather their forefathers, than they of the United States; and an amicable adjustment themselves have had. And we agree, also, that when might thus have been made, had the succeeding Ad-"incendiary publications," so termed in the "Ad- ministration, having other designs in that matter, dress," are circulated and "emissaries" employed not superseded him in office. Certain it is, under